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Part I. Uighuristan

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The territory of the West Uighur Kingdom [1] spread over the northern and southern skirts of the east T'ien-shan range. After 840, when the nomadic Uighur Empire collapsed, many Uighurs came from Mongolia to live there. They chose the mode of sedentary life, while the indigenous non-Turkish people learned to speak the Turkish language of the overwhelming newcomers. In effect, a country called Uighuristan came into existence. It occupied an important intermediate area for traffic and trade between China and Inner Asia. [2] It could bridge the cultural exchange between the East and the West. [3] Manicheans, Buddhists, Nestorians and others came to speak and write in Turkish with the so-called Uighur alphabet. They exerted great cultural influence upon the early phase of the Mongol Empire; for instance, the Mongolian language used to be written with the Uighur alphabet. Uighuristan, however, tended to decline under the Mongols. [4] The Uighurs, in particular, suffered much from the Khaidu rebellion for several decades after the 1260s. The Uighur royal family titled Idiqut, < Iduq-qut, and other powerful nobles took refuge in the northwest regions of China. After 1305, even when the peace was restored in Central Asia, the Uighurs could not recover their former prosperity. Furthermore, their transit traffic fell into decay, as Islamic Irano-Turks had taken the initiative on long distance trade from Transoxiana.[5] Indeed, Islamic powers had already extended nearly throughout the whole Tarim basin. [6] On the other hand, the Uighur Buddhists, as a minority, seem to have been under the influence of the Tibeto-Lamaistic culture under the protection the Yuan dynasty.

The present paper is focused on Turfan and Hami, two centers of Uighuristan, after the fall of the Yüan (1368). It is not too much to say that we owe to N.

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1) T. Abe, *Nishi-uiguru kokushi no kenkyū.* Kyoto, 1955.
2) M. Otagi, "Atsudatsu-sen to sono haikei," *Tōyōshi Kenkyū*, XXXII, 1, pp. 1–27; 2, pp. 23–61.
3) A. von Gabain, *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo 850-1250,* Wiesbaden 1973.
4) T. Saguchi, "Mongorujin shihai-jidai no uigurisutan, *Shigaku Zasshi*, LIV, 8, pp. 1–71; 9, pp. 72-97.
5) T. Saguchi, "Jūyon-sēki ni okeru genchō dai-kān to seihō san-ōke to no rentaisei ni tsuite," *Kita Ajia Gakuhō,* I, pp. 151-214.
6) T. Saguchi, "Gendai no tārimu nanpen-chitai," *Kita Ajia Gakuhō*, II, pp. 313–349.

Elias the basic plan of our study of the land and people in Eastern Turkestan during the period from the 14th to the 16th centuries. [7] Following him, I intend to apply the term "Uighuristan" to the region of Turfan and Hami even in the 15th century. His opinion that the people who had become Muslims ceased to be distinguished by their racial name of Uighur, is supported by Ch'en Ch'eng 陳誠. [8] The latter reports that the inhabitants of Turfan were divided into two groups, Muslims and Uighurs, according to their costumes, and that all of them spoke the Uighur Turkish language. In the early 15th century, East Chaghatai khanids ruled indirectly over the district of Turfan. Another Mongolian royal family had a principality over the oasis of Hami. It was Muslims who ceased to be referred by the original racial name that were to play the most important part, from political and commercial points of view, under the khans or the princes. Nevertheless, the reason why we use the word Uighuristan is that the Uighurs who continued to be Buddhists kept their old racial characteristics. In Hami, two groups of the Uighurs, namely, Buddhist Uighurs and Muslim Uighurs, lived together in the same area. So far as non-religious problems were concerned, they must have helped each other.

We have *Huang Ming Shih-Lu* 皇明實錄 (The Veritable Record of the Ming Dynasty) and other contemporary Chinese sources for study of Uighuristan, besides the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* famous as "History of the Chaghataids" (abbreviated TR)[9], in which we can have information about some rulers of Turfan. We must make the best use of the Islamic sources, carefully confronting them with the Chinese sources. Since about the mid-16th century a certain number of works came to be written by Chinese historians: for example, by Wei Huan 魏煥 and Chang Yü 張雨 on foreign peoples in the periphery of the Ming empire; by Ch'en Chien 陳建 and Hsü Hsüeh-chü 徐學聚 on tributary peoples; and also by Cheng Hsiao 鄭曉, Yen Ts'ung-chien 嚴從簡, Mao Jui-chen 茅瑞徵 and Yeh Hsiang-kao 葉向高 on foreign historiographies.[10] Indeed, they contain worthy descriptions, but we must make it a rule that any material ought to be confirmed by the *Huang Ming Shih-lu*, which is exhaustive

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7) N. Elias *ed.*, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī,* New York–London 1970, Introduction. pp. 72–114.

8) Ch'en Ch'eng, *Hsi-yü fan-kuo chih* 西域蕃國志 (善本叢書第一集), 19b–20a.

9) N. Elias *ed., ibid*.

10) Wei Huan, *Huang Ming chiu-pien k'ao* 皇明九邊考 (ch. 9) (善本叢書第一集); Chang Yü, *Pien-cheng k'ao* 邊政考 (ch. 8, 11) (善本叢書第一集); Ch'en Chien, *Huang Ming t'ung-chi* 皇明通記 ; Hsü Hsüeh-chü, *Kuo-ch'ao tien-hui* 國朝典彙 (ch. 172); Cheng Hsiao, *Huang Ming ssu-i k'ao* 皇明四夷考 (II) (萬曆年刊吾學編); Yen Ts'ung-chien, *Shu-yü chou-tzu lu* 殊域周咨錄 (ch. 12, 13) (故宮博物院圖書館印行); Mao Jui-chen, *Huang Ming hsiang-hsü lu* 皇明象胥錄 (ch. 6, 7) (善本叢書第一集); Yeh Hsiang-kao, *Ssu-i k'ao* 四夷考 (ch. 3) 寶顏堂祕笈本).

and fundamental. Priority is given to this point. In this study, the Haneda edition is used (abbreviated T),[11] as the text of the *Huang Ming Shih-lu*.

Chapter 1. Rulers of Turfan

It seems that after 1305 the Yüan dynasty allowed the Uighur Idiqut to rule Qarakhojo anew. We find an Uighur petition to Tughluq Temür (1346–63) of the Chaghatai-khanids for immunity from taxes in the *USp*. No. 22.[12] During the time of Chaghatai-khanid rule, at least since Isan Bugha (I), tax collectors or envoys came to the royal estate. A person called Könchök Iduq-qut (between 1309 and 1334, according to R. Arat) governed there. [13] We should regard him as a vassal not of Chaghatai khanids, but of the Yüan dynasty according to the Yüan annals. The Iduq-qut named Niu-lin 紐林 Tegin reconstructed Qarakhojo (between 1311 and 1318, according to T. Abe).[14] Furthermore, an administrator was charged by the Yüan emperor to govern there in 1330.[15] Probably soon after this,[16] and certainly during the reign from Tughluq Temür to Vais (1417–32),[17] the Turfan district became the dominion of the East Chaghatai khanate, though they had kept their court at Bishbaliq.

It was in the mid-15th century that a town named Turfan came to stand for all the surrounding district. At first, it seems to have been nothing but a name of a small town which was subordinate to Qarakhojo. [18] There was a prince named Ḥasan in Qarakhojo (1406–13, according to T.),[19] who was the prince of three fortified towns, Qarakhojo, Turfan and Lükchüng. [20] And it is related by Ch'en Ch'eng that Qarakhojo was subject to Ma-ha-ma (Muḥammad), khan of East Chaghataids. [21] I do

11) Haneda *ed., Mindai seiiki shiryō, Minjitsuroku-shō* 明代西域史料，明實錄抄 Kyoto, 1974.

12) *USp*. No. 22: W. Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler,* Leningrad 1928, Nr. 22, S. 28–32, 79, 220.

13) R. Arat, *Der Herrschertitel Iduq-qut, Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher,* vol. 35B, S. 153; *Eski Türk Şiiri*, TTK Ankara 1965 s. 216.

14) *Yüan-shih,* ch. 122; T. Abe, *op. cit.,* p. 126.

15) *Yüan-shih,* ch. 34.

16) According to the Meng-wu-erh shih-chi 蒙兀兒史記 of T'u-chi 屠寄, Qarakhojo fell into hands of Tu-lai T'ieh-mu-erh 篤來帖木兒 [*Dule Temür = Duva Tīmūr of Khondamir] (ch. 160), and Ta-erh-ma-shih-li 答兒麻失里 [*Darmashiri = Tarmashirin] annexed all Uighuristan (ch. 36). In *Yüan-shih* (ch. 32) we can find To-lieh T'ieh-mu-erh 朶列帖木兒 *Dule Temür in 1328. Ta-erh-ma 答兒麻 [-shiri] succeeded him in 1331 (*Yüan-shih,* ch. 35); T. Saguchi, KAG., p. 180; T. Abe, *op. cit.,* p. 130.

17) E. Mano, "Jūgo sēki shotō no moguristan," *Tōyōshi Kenkyū*, XX111, 1, pp. 2–5, 17–20.

18) E. Bretschneider says that the name of T'u-lu-fan appears for the first time in Chinese annals s. a. 1377 (Mediaeval Researches II, p. 193). This cannot be a fact. In our text (41 p.) it is seen for the first time in 1406.

19) Variants: Ha-san 哈散 (T. 41, 48); Ha-san 哈三 (T. 80); This seems to be a Islamic name: Ḥasan.

20) T. 41: n. 28.

21) Ch'en Ch'eng, *op. cit.,* 19a, Ma-ha-mu 馬哈木 (*sic.*), Ma-ha-ma 馬哈麻 (T. 86).

not believe that chiefs in Turfan really reigned over the district at that time. It is very interesting that the town was considered to have been a Buddhist center, according to the accounts of Ch'en Ch'eng and Ghiyāth al-Dīn. [22] Most of the chiefs in this town, Su-ko 速哥 and I-chi-erh-ch'a 尹吉児察, their families and some Buddhist priests, took refuge in China from the end of the 1420s to the 1430s. [23] We realize that Vais began to exert direct control over the Turfan district. [24] It is related in TR. (67) that the water was very scarce in Turfan, and that it was the khan [Vais] himself who constructed an irrigation system there. The nomadic Moghuls had to move their pasture land to the mountain regions between the valley of the Ili River and the Tarim basin under the direction of the East Chaghatai khanids. They were driven back here by the expansion of the Oirats in western Mongolia. This movement weakened the khan's political power, and led some Moghul nobles to independence. Opinion is divided on the question of whether or not the two princes who ruled over Turfan district after Vais were descendants of the khans. [25] They were called Ye-mi-li Huo-che 也密力火者 (*Emil Khwājah) and Su-t'an A-li 速檀阿力 (*Sulṭān 'Alī) by the Chinese. In the Ming sources, they are called prince (wang 王). People must have made much of the ruler's lineage of the Chingiz-khanids even in that period. In theory, the two princes should be identified with the descendants of East Chaghatai khanids. But we cannot confirm this point.

Emil Khwājah (1445–59) [26] was a lord of regions of "Ili-baliq" so called in China since Vais, [27] which formed a dominion of the khanate, that is, Moghūlistān. He reigned over the eastern part (Turfan and Chalish)[28], along with Isan Bugha (II). The dominion of the latter was to the west of the Yulduz valley. [29] But no mention of Emil Khwājah is found in TR. Sulṭān 'Alī (1464–79)[30] seems to have been the

22) Ch'en Ch'eng, *op. cit.,* 16b–17a,19a; Ghiyāth al-Dīn Naqqāsh, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bib. du Roi,* tome 14 (I), Paris 1843, pp. 310, 389.

23) T. 160, 168, 169, 171, 180, 199, 202, 209, 216–217, 231; E. Mano, *op. cit.,* pp. 10–11.

24) E. Mano, *op. cit.,* p. 11.

25) M. Rossabi, *Ming China and Turfan,* 1406–1517, *Central Asiatic Journal,* vol. 16, no. 3, 1972, p. 215; S. Hori, "Mindai no toruhan ni tsuite," *Machikaneyama Ronsō* 8, pp. 18-21.

26) Variants: 也密火者王 (T. 306), 也密力虎者王 (313, 315, 316, 319, 362, 376), 亦速 [*sic.*: 迷] 力火者王 (339), 也咩力火者王 (371), 也乜力火者王 (385), 也密火只王 (381, 382).

27) T. 313, 315 etc.

28) The T. says "fifteen (tribal?) groups in the three fortified towns and its environs" (三箇城等處十五部) about his dominions (306). And it also says "Hami and the region of Turfan which is composed of three fortified towns" (哈密幷三箇城土魯番地面) elsewhere (393 in 1460). The name of Turfan may not yet have indicated the district as a term. Probably three fortified towns signified main dwelling places in the district of Turfan, that is, Turfan, Qarakhojo and Lükchüng.

29) TR. 86.

30) Variants: 鎖魯檀阿力王 (T. 414, 432, 443), 速魯檀阿力王 (429), 速檀阿力王 (430, 411, 451, 455), 速檀阿力 (436, 443, 448, 449, 459, 464, 469).

successor of Emil Khwājah, considering the duration of his reign and the extension of his dominions. In 1473, Sulṭān ‘Alī invaded and conquered Hami, and left his younger sister’s husband, named Ya-lan 牙蘭, as the leader of the garrison, and then carried the Hami prince’s mother and her granddaughter away to Turfan.[31] He seems to have made the latter his own mistress.[32] After his death (1478/79), Hami was recovered by the Ming. S. Hori reasons that this *wang* may be identified with Sulṭān ‘Alī Jurās (*amir*).[33] According to TR. (90–92), after the death of Dūst Muḥammad (1468/69), his son, Kabak Sulṭān (K‘o-pai Su-t’an 克伯速檀 in T. 469) fled with some of his well-wishers to Turfan, while Yunus khan entered Aqsu and subdued the subjects of Dūst Muḥammad. In the Ming Imperial Records, we find, under the date of *kuei-wei* 癸未 in the 7th month of the 14th year of the Emperor Ch‘eng-hua’s 成化 reign, that the subjects of Sulṭān ‘Alī *wang* rose in revolt.[34] Under the date of *chin-tzu* 甲子 in the 9th month of the 15th year (1479) of the same emperor, we find that this *wang* had already been dead, and that Kabak Sulṭān attempted to occupy the dominion. Moreover, Khwājah Isu 火者亦速 and Ya-lan etc. were seeking to revenge themselves on one another.[35] These descriptions suggest that it ensued from the death of Sulṭān ‘Alī *wang,* that the followers of Kabak Sulṭān, having killed their master, brought back his head to Yunus khan (Yü-nu-ssu wang 羽奴思王).[36] The latter sent his tribute to China as a prince of Aqsu etc. in 1482,[37] and as a prince of Kashghar etc. in 1484.[38] And then he went to Tashkent and died there (1487).[39]

In short, we can conclude that Kabak Sulṭān stayed in sultanship for about ten years under the protection of Sulṭān ‘Alī. As long as we take the above story as our premise, it may not be prudent to conclude that this *wang* was a chieftain of the

31) T. 444, 474, 483, 485 ; the name of the granddaughter: 滿堆阿哈察 (474), 阿黑察 (483, 485).
32) T. 525.
33) S. Hori, *ibid.*
34) T. 465: 成化十四年七月癸未：速檀阿力部下攜叛.
35) T. 469: 成化十五年九月甲子：速檀阿力已死. 而克速檀又欲占據其地. 火者亦速牙蘭等尚相仇殺.
36) TR. 95.
37) T. 475: 成化十八年二月辛亥：陝西阿迷 [sic: 速] 等處羽奴思王 .
38) This account is falling off: 成化二十年四月壬戌，賜火失阿兒等處羽奴思王，虎斑絹・磁器，從其使臣請也. See S. Hori, *op. cit.,* p. 19.
39) TR. 114–115.
40) TR. 121.
41) T. 315, 362, 376, 381.
42) T. 414: 迤西倒剌欠哈敦奏求九龍文綺，鎖魯檀阿力王奏求盔甲・弓箭等物，詔以琵琶・箏絃・蘇木・綉線等物與之，餘不與.

Jurās tribe.

In this respect, we have enough reason. The Jurās was a powerful tribe. They separated from Isan Bugha and allied themselves with the Oirats. [40] But the most powerful chieftain (*amir*) could not establish his dominion without the title of prince. At first, he supported Emil Khwājah as ruler. We can find the latter's family listed as follows: his mother, his younger brother, his mother-in-law, his son named Huan-hsi 歡喜, his princess in Turfan, Ku-wa-erh Sulṭān 克瓦兒速檀 and his elder sister in Chalish, Ta-la-men 打剌悶. [41] The Ming court must have recognized him as a rather powerful and independent prince. It is very probable that he was not one of the descendants of Vais khan. TR. have no concern whatever about any lineage except that of Vais. As for Sulṭān 'Alī *wang*, in T. (414), under the date of *kuei-yu* 癸酉 in the 9th month of the 8th year of the Emperor T'ien-shun's 天順 reign, in which his name appeared for the first time, it is related that Tao-la-ch'ien Khatun 倒剌欠哈敦 in the west asked for colored silk decorated with nine dragons. Sulṭān 'Alī *wang* 鎖魯檀阿里 asked for a suit of armor, bows and arrows etc. [42] "Khatun" in Turk-Mongolian usually implies a queen. In the above cited records of the Ming, we must remark that his khatun had priority over him. She might have been of the royal lineage. According to TR. (121), he was put to death by Sulṭān Aḥmad, the son of Yunus. Thereafter, Sulṭān Wu-ye-ssu 鎖魯檀兀也思 (*Vais) qualified as *wang* sent tributes from Turfan from 1481 to 87.[43] The Ming court granted some presents to this prince as well as to the granddaughter of the *wang* of Hami, mistress of Sulṭān 'Alī. He also might have been one member of the family of Emil Khwājah or Sulṭān 'Alī. [44]

In 1487, Sulṭān Aḥmad khan extended his power to Turfan,[45] and in the following year occupied Hami. He left Ya-lan there again as captain of the garrison. Though the Ming recovered Hami in exchange for indemnities, and put a restored prince on the throne (1492), Aḥmad recaptured it at once (1493),[46] as a result of which the Ming sent an expeditionary force. Aḥmad's counter attacks were in vain (1495).[47] His last dominion was restricted to the regions of Turfan, Chalish, Kucha, Aqsu and Ush. [48] Thus, the Moghul khanate moved southward across the T'ien-

43) T. 474, 499, 500.

44) Furthermore we can find Erke Sulṭān (阿爾克鎖魯檀), the son of Sulṭān 'Alī 兀隆各 in 1474 (T. 443). A person named Wu-lung-ko 兀隆各 (in 1480, T. 471) in Turfan may have been the same person.

45) T. 494: 成化二十三年五月丙寅：羽奴思王子鎖檀阿麻王，復侵奪察力失等四城 (four towns: Chalish, Toqsun, Turfan and Lükchüng ?).

46) T. 536–537.

47) T. 562–564.

48) TR. 162.

shan. Sulṭān Manṣūr, the eldest son of Aḥmad, succeeded to the throne (1504). On the other hand, Uzbegs, Qirghiz and Qazaqs began to conquer their neighbour lands or to become independent in the western part of Moghūlistān about this time, while Abā Bakr, the son of Sānīz Mirzā, a chief of Kashghar, advanced to Aqsu. [49] Manṣūr had to remove his khanate to the eastern part, that is, Turfan and Chalish. Then he advanced to China. After the occupation of Hami (1513), he tried to make raids not only to the borders (Sha-chou 沙州 in 1516),[50] but also into China through the gate Chia-yu Kuan 嘉峪關 . He made raids into China three times. First (1516), he sieged Su-chou 肅州 ;[51] the second time (1524), he attacked Kan-chou 甘州, subsequently devastating the region of Su-chou for forty days with 20,000 horsemen. [52] For several months (1525), more than 10,000 horsemen repeatedly invaded the province of Su-chou, but we can not know whether he was at their head or not. [53] These Islamic "Holy Wars" against China were the final stage of the conquest of the nomadic Moghuls, and it must have precipitated their collapse as a horde. His sons began to separate themselves as local rulers. Their descendants ceased to figure in history. But only Sa'id (1514–33), the second son of Aḥmad, established his khanate in Kashghar. His descendants reigned over eastern towns, including Turfan and Hami, until the early 17th century. [54]

Chapter 2. Principality and Subjects in Hami

There is an oasis called Hami (Khamil or Qamul) by the Chinese since 1404, situated in the southern skirt of the east end of the T'ien-shan. Geographically, it belonged to the Turfan district, though it used to be more or less under the influence of nomadic powers from Mongolia. In this period the princes who belonged to a branch of Chaghataids, but who had been subject to the great Yüan dynasty, established a principality there. This state was closely related with either China or Moghūlistān and Mongolia, and formed a strategic and commercial base.

The royal lineage: According to P. Pelliot and J. Matsumura, it is doubtless that the

49) S. Hori, *op. cit.,* p. 23.

50) Cheng Hsiao, *ibid*.

51) T. 622–623; Cheng Hsiao, *ibid*.

52) T. 648; T'an Ch'ien 談遷 , *Kuo-chüeh* 國榷 (ch. 51). pp. 3308, 3310.

53) T. 654; T'an Ch'ien, *op. cit.,* p. 3316; And moreover Cheng Hsiao mentions that Ya-mu-lan 牙木蘭 stayed at Hami again, and invaded Su-chou in the 4th year (1525). Then he entered to Sha-chou (*ibid*.). Our T. says that Turfan powers raided into Su-chou at the 10th month of the 4th year (659; T'an Ch'ien, p. 3326). The two above cited accounts are likely to be related to the same event. This is the 4th invasion from Turfan.

54) S. Hori, *op. cit.,* pp. 31–32.

princes of Hami were descendants of Chübei, a great-grandchild of Chaghatai. [55] He was one of the greatest commanders under the Yüan, and fought against the nomadic troops of Khaidu and his ally Duva. The Yüan granted him a domain in the region of Ho-hsi 河西 (Kan-su and Tun-huang) for his distinguished service. [56] In the history of Rashīd al-Dīn, it is said that he had two sons, named Nom Quli (Nan-hu-li 喃忽里) and Könchök (K'uan-ch'e 寬徹), among his many children. [57] It was confirmed by J. Matsumura that families of these two sons also possessed their domains in the same region during the first half of the 14th century. [58] The founder of the Hami royal family, called Unashiri, is considered to have been one of them. But in fact, he sent an envoy to the Ming court from Hami for the first time in 1390.[59] Before that, he seems to have been one of the military commanders under the emperor or khan of the "Northern Yüan" 北元, named Tögüs Temür (1384).[60] After the latter's death, when some of his commanders submitted to the Ming for a time,[61] he probably also tried to contact the Ming. We have a Mongolian-Chinese letter which his (?) son-in-law, named Namun, wrote on the 8th of the 10th month of the dragon year (1388).[62] In the letter he requested that Unashiri should be granted permission to rule his [old] appanage in the great [Yüan] empire. [63] In the following year, the Ming sent an envoy to this prince, who stayed somewhere to the west of Qarakhorum. [64] He paid a tribute of horses from Hami, though the tribute did not necessarily imply obedience. Emperor Hung-wu 洪武 took precautions against him. As a matter of fact, he threatened the Chinese with a hasty demand of horse fairs at Yen-an 延安, Sui-te 綏德, P'ing-liang 平涼 and Ning-hsia 寧夏. [65] The emperor refused his demand and

55) P. Pelliot, "Le Ḥōja et le Sayyid Ḥusain de l'histoire des Ming," *T'oung Pao*, vol. 38, Leiden 1948, pp. 134-138, 198 no. 103; L. Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan che*, Leiden 1945, Pelliot note. pp. 92–93; J. Matsumura, "Mindai hami-ōke no kigen," *Tōyō Gakuhō*, XXXIX, 4, pp. 32–48.

56) *Yüan-shih* ch. 21, 108; T. Saguchi, "Kasei ni okeru Mongoru hōken-ōkō," *Wada hakase kanreki kinen tōyōshi ronsō*, Tokyo, 1950, p. 266.

57) Blochet, pp. 156–177; L. Hambis, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 93 n. 10, tableau 23; pp. 52–55 n. 7; *Yüan-shih* ch. 39, 107, 108 (喃忽里). 22, 108 (南木忽里), 23, 108 (那木忽里), 21, 29, 33, 37, 107, 108 (寬徹).

58) J. Matsumura, *ibid*.

59) T. 14.

60) 太祖實錄 ch. 168, 洪武十七年十一月丙寅：然其麾下哈剌章・蠻子・阿納失里, 諸將各相猜忌. A-na-shih-li 阿納失里 is one of variants of Unashiri. S. Wada, *Tōa-shi kenkyū, Mōkohen*, Tokyo, 1959, pp. 40, 96 n. 60.

61) S. Wada, *op. cit.*, pp. 184–185.

62) 火源潔譯, 明洪武間刻本華夷譯語, 涵芬樓秘笈第四集所収. E. Haenisch, *Sino-Mongolisch Dokumente vom Ende des 14 Jahrhunderts* (納門駙馬書). 1952.

63) 古納失里王宜, 合迷里阿兒牙不灰也客兀魯孫拜里孩宜, 額鄰札兒沉闌忽宜, 合罕訥札兒里蔑迭禿該 (Gunasiri ong yi Ḥamil i'ar yabuḥui yeke ulus un bairiḥai yi. erin jarcim-laḥu yi. ḥahan ṇo jarlih mede lugai: Haenisch).

64) *Mindai man-mō shiryō, Min jitsuroku-sho, Mōko-hen*, I, Kyoto, 1951, pp. 212–213.

65) T.14.

dispatched troops suddenly to Hami, and defeated him (1391).[66]

In 1372, the Ming built the gate Chia-yu Kuan in the hinterland of Su-chou. The Ming forces campaigned out of the gate to the regions of Sha-chou (Tun-huang), Ch'ih-chin 赤斤 and Pai-ch'eng-tzu 白城子 en route to Ejinei, and swept the remnants of Yüan powers in 1380.[67] And then a Muslim named 'Alā al-Dīn 阿老丁 came with a tribute from Hami (1381).[68] The Ming sources say that this Muslim was sent by Unashiri as his envoy. [69] But this can not be the fact. We should recognize that the prince Unashiri had come from Mongolia to Hami a little earlier than 1390.[70] He sent the last tribute to China in 1392, the ensuing year of his defeat mentioned above.

The puppet regime of the Ming: Emperor Yung-lo, who ascended the throne in 1403, actively began to promote better relations with Hami. Engke Temür succeedcd his elder brother Unashiri, and ruled Hami. The emperor conferred the title of Chung-shun Wang 忠順王 (the "prince of loyalty and obedience") on him in 1404. This designation was intended to make Hami a faithful principality to the Ming. Furthermore, the emperor's approach may have been a strategic one to alienate the prince from Quilich 鬼力赤, titled "Khaghan of Tatars." Soon after that (1404/05), the reigning prince was poisoned by Quilich. According to the pre-arranged program,[71] the Ming immediately sent Toghto, the son of Unashiri, as the new prince, who had been captured at the time of the Ming campaigns against Hami (1391), and was brought up by the emperor Yung-lo in his court. [72] Considerable confusion prevailed in Hami for a time. [73] The Ming, however, forced Toghto to set up his government. At the same time, Chinese garrisons were stationed beyond the gate Chia-yu Kuan (the Mongolian garrison of Ch'ih-chin 赤 斤 in 1404, and the garrison of Sha-chou in 1405). In 1406, the garrison (wei 衛) of Hami was founded. [74] Its purpose was to back up the puppet government. But the stationing of a garrison did not imply political control by the Ming. [75] The Ming conferred Chinese military ranks

66) T. 17.
67) S. Wada, *op. cit.,* pp. 36–39.
68) T. 9.
69) *Ming-shih,* ch. 330.
70) J. Oda, (former name: Jüten Nagamoto), "Min-sho no hami-ōke ni tsuite," *Tōyōshi Kenkyū*, XXII, 1, pp. 1–38.
71) J. Oda, *op. cit.,* pp. 3-11; M. Rossabi, *China and Inner Asia from 1368 to the Present Day*, London 1975 p. 29.
72) T. 37.
73) T. 39.
74) T. 38.
75) M. Rossabi, *op. cit.,* pp. 28–29.

on chieftains under Hami princes, and sometimes honored them with coronets and robes. As a result, the princes, their families and various chieftains in the Hami oasis, acquired favorable conditions for the tribute trade. In 1426, after Toghto's death (1409/10), his son Budashiri succeeded him as Chung-shun Wang,[76] while Mengli Temür (1411–25), the son of Engke Temür, was granted the title of Chung-i Wang 忠義王 (the "prince of loyalty and fidelity"), whose position Toghon Temür (1427–37) succeeded to. [77] Thus, two royal families had good relations with the Ming, and they both flourished in the oasis, where merchants carried on trade between China and Mongolia, or Moghūlistān.

Submission to the Oirats: Only fragmentary information found in the *Veritable Record of the Ming Dynasty* furnishes available sources to confirm the fact that the nomadic powers in Mongolia were deeply concerned about the political and commercial position of Hami. After the death of Tögüs Temür (1387), minor nomadic powers struggled for military supremacy. Among them, the Oirats in the northwestern Mongolia became powerful enough to contend with the Tatars in the eastern Mongolia. The Ming conferred the titles of *wang* (prince) on three chieflains, called, respectively, Ma-ha-mu 馬哈木 (*Maḥmūd), T'ai-p'ing 太平 and Batu Bolad (把禿孛羅) of the confederated Oirats (1409).[78] Toghon (脫歡), the son of Ma-ha-mu, who had annexed all the Oirats, gained virtual suzerainty in all of Mongolia at last (in the 1430s). At one time he had a peaceful connection with the prince of Hami, and married his daughter, Nu'undashiri, to Budashiri, prince of Hami. [79] In 1439, when the prince died, rebellions arose in Hami. It was reported to the Ming that one of commanders, named P'i-la-na 皮剌納, of the garrison of Hami was becoming unfaithful, that the people had revenge themselves among them, and that, furthermore, they had trouble with the Oirats. [80] The Ming court immediately nominated Dawadashiri, the son of Budashiri, for his position, and admonished P'i-la-na for unity of the garrison. [81] According to the following information,[82] at first Nieh-lieh-ku 捏列骨, [83] the son of T'ai-p'ing, seems to have besieged Hami in collusion with a chieftain of the Muslims named Shams al-Dīn (陝西丁), and then Möngke Bugha [84] of

76) T. 127–128.
77) T. 145, 148.
78) *Mindai man-mō shiryō, op. cit.*, p. 346 (太宗実録, ch. 63, 永楽七年五月乙未).
79) T. 395.
80) T. 245.
81) T. 246.
82) T. 252 (正統五年八月乙亥), 253 (八月丁酉), 254 (九月辛丑).
83) Nieh-lieh-ku 捏列骨 must be a variant of Nieh-lieh-hu. *Mindai man-mō shiryō.* II, p. 70; T. 99, 100.
84) He is a younger brother of Esen Toghon (也先土干). *Ming-shih,* ch. 156 (金忠傳); S. Wada, *op. cit.,*

the Tatars, who made an entry into the region of Bars-köl, defeated Nieh-lieh-ku. But the former did not raise his siege, for P'i-la-na attempted, in vain, to keep in touch with him, and to murder the prince. The troops of Oirats put down the rebellions at the end (1440).

At that time, Esen (也 先) succeeded his father Toghon as the supreme sovereign of Mongolia. Esen was the cousin of Dawadashiri, the reigning prince of Hami. However, he sent his troops to Hami. It is said that the troops sieged Hami and captured the mother of the prince (1443).[85] Materials available so far are too scanty to enable us to know the real situation. It is very probable that Möngke Bugha attacked the principality, in collusion with Shams al-Dīn mentioned above. [86] The Oirats drove away the invader and took back the captured family of the prince. The people of Hami succeeded in requesting that Esen let Shams al-Dīn manage the affairs of Hami, together with the prince. But, they were placed under the pressure of the Oirats in all cases. Although the position of Chung-i Wang was succeeded by Toghto Tamur (1437),[87] he does not appear in history again. It was reported in 1443 that Hami had a smaller population than any neighboring region. [88] One of the chieftains of the Oirats came and carried away more than a hundred persons of Ulugh Beg's embassy (1446).[89] At this time the prince and his mother and Shams al-Dīn went with them. Headquarters of the Oirats existed in Khongghurkhai (晃忽兒槐) (to the southeast of Uliyasutai) situated between the Tui (堆) and the Tachu (塔出) Rivers in the southern side of the Khanghai mountains. [90] Esen entertained them very cordially there. [91] The prince in Hami had to be present at the Quriltai meeting every time. [92] Hami fell thoroughly into Esen's hands in 1444, though people of Hami did not break off diplomatic and commercial relations with Ming China. [93] The sudden death of Esen altered the situation of Hami, but not for the better, for the

pp. 77–79: He kept his base camp between the borders of Su-cbou and the region of Hami (T. 205, 221, 228, 272, 336).

85) T. 278, 280.

86) T. 280–281.

87) T. 236.

88) T. 281.

89) T. 318.

90) T. 292: 堆塔出晃忽兒槐 (正統九年九月丁亥). S. Wada, *op. cit.,* pp. 278, 338, 403: And we can find a town name, "Qonār-uy" in the chapter of the Qalmaqs in Khitayname (Ali Ekber). This must be a variant of Khongghurkhai. Lin Yih-min, *Ali Ekber'in Hitayname*, Tai-pei 1967, s. 159; *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, (I), *Ali Ekber* by Z. V. Toghan.

91) T. 323.

92) T. 343, 346, 366.

93) T. 285, 288, 301, 304, 306, 307, 316, 317, 331, 333, 335, 336, 337, 339, 342, 343, 344, 351, 352, 358, 361, 362, 365.

worse, because it had become extremely weak. They would have rather submitted to the Oirats. Dawadashiri was succeeded by Bürege 卜列革 [94] (1457–59/60), his younger brother. The latter left no heirs, except his mother and daughter. In 1463, Hami was invaded by Beg Arslan (乜加思蘭), chieftain of a nomadic tribal group, new to the neighborhood of Hami. [95] The prince's family had take refuge in the region of K'u-yu 苦峪 valley (outside the border of Su-chou) until about 1466. At last, it came to pass that the powers in Moghūlistān extended, their territory to the Hami oasis. [96]

The restoration of the royal family: After the death of Bürege, his mother Nu'undashiri, seems to have hoped to adopt a husband-prince for her granddaughter. [97] She requested that the Ming court single out one from among he descendants of An-tin Wang's 安定王 family, who had reigned over the Sarigh Uighurs in the borders of Tibetan territory since the Yüan period. Unfortunately, she and her granddaughter were carried off by Sulṭān 'Alī (1473). On the other hand, a powerful chieftain of the Uighurs named Bagh Tamur was the son of Toghon Temür's daughter, and consequently a member of the Chung-i Wang's family. [98] Some hoped to have him as ruler. The Ming court stationed the garrison (wei 衛) afresh and charged him with the official post of prince regent (1467). The successor was his son Han-shen (1472–88). When 'Alī captured Hami, Han-shen moved his garrison to the K'u-yu valley. Then, he built a fortress there, with the help of the Chinese, and gathered the dispersed subordinate people together. [99] After the retaking of Hami, he was granted the title of Chung-shun Wang (1488).[100] But he was killed by Sulṭān Aḥmad before the real grant of the Ming edict and seal. His younger brother Engke Bolad became the captain of the garrison in K'u-yu, which consisted of Uighurs, Muslims and other minor tribal groups. In 1492, the garrison helped one of the descendants from An-ting Wang, named Shan-pa 陝巴, to take the position of Hami prince. [101] He seems to have been the son of Han-shen's daughter. [102] In the following year, Aḥmad recaptured Hami and carried this prince away. The garrison retreated to K'u-yu, or,

94) Variants: Po-lo-ko 孛羅革 (T. 380), Po-lo-ko 孛羅哥 (268), and Po-lo T'ieh-mu-erh 孛羅帖木兒 (T. 613). The last variant should have been conveyed by wrong information, n. 102.

95) T. 407, 413, 415, 420, 429.

96) T. 371.

97) T. 408, 413, 414–415, 417.

98) T. 422.

99) T. 445, 456, 462, 463.

100) T. 501, 509.

101) T. 530.

102) T. 535: 先是，遣達官指揮法虎爾丁等，勅諭安定王千奔，令送哈密忠順王陝巴家属，千奔不從云，

temporarily, to Ch'in-chin. [103] In 1495, the Ming court took Hami back by force, and also ransomed the captured prince from Turfan. Soon after that (between 1498 and 1500), Shan-pa was restored, together with the garrison. The successor was his son Sulṭān Bāyazīd 速檀拜牙卽 (1505–13).[104] The last of peaceful relations continued between China, Hami and Turfan until Sulṭān Manṣūr undertook the Islamic "Holy War" against China. Hami was annexed to the dominions of the East Chaghatai khanate in 1513. The prince was carried away. [105] Some chiefs in the prince's service took refuge in China.

The subject peoples: At the beginning of the 15th century, the Tatars were probably included in the subordinate groups of Hami. They had chieftains named Ha-la-ha-na 哈剌哈納, Baiju 買住, Ch'ih-na 赤納 etc., in the time of prince Toghto;[106] Ch'ih-na was a Tatar under Baiju from the first. [107] Concerning the situation at the end of the same century, Ma Wen-sheng 馬文升 reports that three groups, Muslims, Uighurs and Qara-quis (Oirats) made up the communities of the garrison. [108] The Ming conferred Chinese military ranks, tu-tu 都督, namely, overseer, and tu chih-hui-shih 都指揮使 commander, etc., on big and small chiefs who submitted to the Hami princes. [109] This suggests that the Ming agreed to comply with the prince's request, or the native orders, in principle. There were three grades of overseer: general overseer of the left or right 左右都督, vice-overseer and rear-overseer 都督同知 and rear-overseer 都督僉事; and three grades of commander, that is, general commander 都指揮使, 2nd-commander 都指揮同知 and 3rd commander 都指揮僉事.

陝巴不應襲忠順王爵，爵當歸綽兒加，綽兒加前忠順王罕愼之姪，千奔弟出，故千奔求立之，且要賞賜物，甘肅守臣以聞，兵部覆奏，以陝巴乃忠順王之孫，素爲國人所推服，前哈密未封，遣使諭取應立者 ... (弘治六年正月辛卯). According to the above description, Shan-pa is a grandchild of Han-shen who was nominated for Chung-shun Wang. We must remark that some of the later Chinese historians cited the following information which was easy to misunderstand. T. 613: 永樂間，封元遺派脫脫爲忠順王，賜以金印，俾世爲藩籬傳至孛羅帖木兒，無世嗣母爲守國，成化間，土魯番速檀阿力王乘其微弱奪金印去，阿力死，守臣復哈密城，請令忠順王外孫都督罕愼攝守，尋襲王爵，阿力子速檀阿黑麻殺之，弘治中，立忠順王孫陝巴（正德九年五月己丑）.

103) T. 557–558, 564.

104) T. 591.

105) T. 618, 619.

106) T. 47, 69.

107) T. 38–39, 49.

108) Ma Wen-sheng, *Hsing-fu Hami kuo-wang chi* 興復哈密國王記 (學海類編所收) 2b–3a.

109) *Ming-shih,* ch. 76 (五軍都督府，都司).

List of Overseers of the Garrison
(According to our Text) [110)]

No.	Names	Date of records	Ranks	Notes
1	Ha-la-ha-na 哈剌哈納	1408–11	都指揮同知 都督僉事	
2	*Juna Fakhr al-Dīn 朮納 法虎兒丁	1415–19	都督僉事	variant: 法火兒丁；leader of the Muslims, died before 1427; his younger brother: 忽勅出，his son: 母撒 (1437)
3	Toghto Bugha 脫脫不花	1425–29	都指揮同知 都督僉事	variant: 脫脫卜花？
4	Po-tou-nu 北斗奴	1427–30	都督僉事	the younger brother of Budashiri
5	*Juna 朮納	1428–29	都督僉事	died before 1429; his son: 尹赤 (1429), 2nd son: 撒滿赤 (1441)
6	Pa-t'ai 把台	1429	都督僉事	
7	Pu-la-na 不剌納	1427–29	都督僉事	his elder brother: 哈剌苦出 (1415–27)
8	Wu-ma-la 兀馬勅	1433	都指揮僉事 都督僉事	
9	Toghto Bugha 脫脫不花	1427–29	都指揮僉事 都督僉事，同知	his elder brother: 赤丹不花 (1415–22?)
10	P'i-la-na 皮剌納	1439–40	都督	rebel (1439)

110) 1 (T. 56, 62, 71), 2 (88, 89, 96, 140, 236), 3 (118, 120, 123, 158, 183), 4 (140, 141, 143, 183), 5 (148, 156, 258), 6 (156), 7 (81,140, 158), 8 (207), 9 (89, 100?, 140, 248, 251, 254, 267, 268, 288, 305, 335, 338, 387), 10 (245, 246, 250, 254, 258), 11 (140, 253, 281, 287, 305, 323, 335), 12 (395), 13 (401, 402, 408, 422, 435), 14 (399, 422), 15 (435, 444, 445, 475, 476, 498, 499, 501), 16 (505, 507, 508, 511, 528, 529, 530, 536, 541), 17 (503, 531, 553, 587, 588, 591, 597, 600, 618, 619, 622, 632, 641), 18 (508, 511, 532, 545, 587, 588, 591, 612, 618, 625), 19 (531), 20 (553, 583, 591, 609, 633), 21 (578?, 618), 22 (639, 644), 23 (644, 666, 714), 24 (709, 722, 725).

No.	Name	Date of records	Ranks	Notes
11	Shams al-Dīn	1427–47	都指揮僉事, 同知, 都督僉事	leader of the Muslims
12	Pai-tu Wang 伯都王	1461	都督僉事	the younger brother of Esen (Oirats)
13	Bagh Tamur 把塔木児	1462-72	都督同知 右都督	variant: 把帖木兒；leader of the Uighurs, died before 1472
14	Muẓaffer 母雜法兒	1462–72	都指揮使 都督同知	variant: 木撒法兒；leader of the Muslims
15	Han-shen 罕愼	1472–88	右都督 (忠順王)	leader of the Uighurs, killed by Aḥmad in 1488
16	A-mu-lang 阿木郎	1488–93	都督僉事	killed by Aḥmad in 1493
17	Sayyid Ḥusayn 寫亦虎仙	1488–1521	都指揮僉事 右都督	variants: 賽因虎仙, 散因火辛, leader of the Muslims, executed in 1521; the nephew of Sayyid Sanlung 賽亦撒隆
18	Engke Bolad 奄克孛剌	1489–1517	都督同知 左都督	variant: 奄克孛羅；leader of the Uighurs, the younger brother of Han-shen dwelled in K'u-yu after 1513, died before 1521
19	Ha-la-san 哈剌参	1492	都指揮使 都督僉事	
20	Shīr Bayandar 失伯顏答	1492–1517	都督僉事 同知	variants: 失拜煙答；失拜烟答, his 1st son: Khwājah Maḥmūd, 火者馬黑木；died in Su-chou (1517)

21	Manla Ḥasan 滿剌哈三	1500?–15	都督	Muslim
22	Pa-ti Bolad 把的孛剌	1521–23	都督	the son of Engke Bolad, died before 1523
23	Begi Bolad	1523–45	都督	the younger brother of Pa-ti Bolad; refuged in Tung-kuan 東關 of Su-chou before 1528
24	Mīr Maḥmūd	1537–64		2nd son of Shīr Bayandar refuged in Pei-kuan 北關 of Kan-chou before 1557

According to the Ming sources, ʻAlā al-Dīn aforementioned was the first Muslim from Hami (1381). Juna Fakhr al-Dīn, in the above list, must have been a chief of the Muslims, whom Ghiyāth al-Dīn referred to,[111] also. The latter reports that Tāj al-Dīn, the son-in-law of Fakhr al-Dīn, who descended from the sayyids in Termez, had a hospice at a town called Ata-ṣūfi. Fakhr al-Dīn built a magnificent mosque and a beautiful hall of worship beside a Buddhist temple. He sent envoys with a tribute of horses to China. [112] Generally speaking, it can hardly be doubted that the Muslims in Hami, as well as in Turfan, belonged originally to the Uighurs. There were likely some minor chiefs named ʻUmar 兀馬兒 Nasr al-Dīn 那蘇兒丁 etc.,[113] in the Muslim community of the 1420s. It is, however, uncertain whether there were newcomers among them or not. Shams al-Dīn who had been one of them, became a leader of the Muslims as aforesaid. In the period of the vacancy of princedom, Muẓaffar was the head. The Ming court sent him Imperial instructions, as well as a suit of robes made of gold threads (1467). After him, we know that Sayyid Sanlung and his nephew Sayyid Ḥusayn were the chiefs of Muslims. The latter became

111) *Notices et extraits, op. cit.,* pp. 310, 389.
112) T. 88, 89, 96.
113) T. 140, 143.

well known as a favorite of Emperor Wu-tsung 武宗 afterwards. [114] The first information about him is that the Ming court allowed him 5/7 acres (five *mou* 畝) of land beside the graveyard for Muslims in Su-chou as a burial-place of dead envoys on the way to China (1488).[115] In 1491, he served with his partner, Ha-la-san 哈剌參, in order to make Aḥmad retrocede Hami. [116] The new prince, Shan-pa, was as well supported by him as by Engke Bolad. [117] At the time of succession to Bāyazīd, Engke Bolad was given the title of general overseer of the left (左都督), as a leader of the Uighurs, while he gained the title of the general overseer of the right (右都督), as a leader of the Muslims. [118] He, however, had to lead a checkered life after the invasions of Manṣūr. In 1516, when Manṣūr besieged Su-chou, Chinese military officers arrested him for secret collusion with the enemy,[119] though he escaped from prison soon after, taking advantage of intimate relations with some arbitrary eunuchs in the Imperial court. On the contrary a few officers suffered disciplinary punishments.[120] Both he and his son-in-law, Khwājah Maḥmūd (the son of Shīr Bayandar), received Imperial favor, honoring them with Emperor Wu-tsung's surname Chu 朱. [121] Meanwhile, they were involved in strife among courtiers. When the next emperor succeeded Wu-tsung, Sayyid Ḥusayn was denounced and executed. [122] His son, Mīr Muḥammad 米兒馬黑麻, and his son-in-law were beheaded (1523).[123] After all, we must say that a series of events, in which Ḥusayn had played an important role, brought to light the inner political situations of Muslims in Hami.

As was mentioned above concerning the Uighurs, Bagh Tamur became the prince regent in the re-established garrison. But there is no information that enables us to relate him to anyone's family in the above list, except that his father made a good marriage with the prince Toghon Temur's daughter. After him, his sons, Han-shen and Engke Bolad, were, successively, leaders of the subordinate groups the Muslim community included. In 1482, Han-shen defeated the Turfanese garrison under Ya-lan in Hami, with all its 8,600 members and the reinforcements of two other garrisons, and regained eight fortresses, or fortified towns, and 1,500 inhabit-

114) P. Pelliot, *Le Ḫōja, op. cit.,* pp. 116–154; R. A. Miller, *Sayyid Ḥusain, Dictionary of Ming Biography*, vol. 2, New York-London 1976, pp. 1152–1153.

115) T. 503.

116) T. 531.

117) T. 553.

118) T. 591.

119) T. 622–623.

120) T. 633.

121) T. 642.

122) T. 641.

123) T. 644.

ants.[124] During the following long offensive and defensive battles with the Moghuls, many Uighurs seem to have been scattered, evading the control of the overseer. In about 1497, there were 2450 Uighurs under Engke Bolad's command. When his tribal group took refuge in Tung-kuan of Su-chou between 1513–28, the population was no more than 3 70.[125] But for a long time after (in 1647),[126] they were known as the garrison of Hami in Su-chou. They were Buddhists who were mainly engaged in agriculture and stock breeding. It is probable that most Uighurs of the tribal groups remained in the Hami oasis.

Regarding Qara-quis, they belonged by origin to the Oirats. It is reported that Qara-quis, in the "westward", and chiefs [of Me-k'o-li 克力][127] in the region of Tash Balghasun (now, Tash Bulak) had been subordinate to Hami government from the first. [128] Some people from Qara-quis dwelled together with Muslims and Uighurs in the fortified town of Hami. After the invasion of Aḥmad (1488), a chief named Pai Tieh-li-mi-shih 拜迭力迷失 (*Bay Dermish) and 190 members took refuge in K'u-yu (1497). In 1528, or so, there were 510 inhabitants,[129] who were engaged mainly in hunting, like a warlike race. [130] Moreover we know that other peoples, Hsiao-lieh-t'u 小列禿 (Oirats) and Me-k'o-li (or Wild Mekrin; Turkish?) dwelled in a ring in the left and right foothills of the northern mountain (Karlik Tagh).[131] The latter had separate territory as far as the Ejinei region. [132]

Chapter 3. Retreat of the Buddhists

It is all but confirmed that the later Buddhist culture in Uighuristan—at least in the Yüan period—was under the direct influence of China, India and Tibet. Some Turkish translators are known to us, for example, Sanggashiri,[133] Arya Achari[134] and Punyashiri,[135] who translated Buddhist texts from the Tibetan language. Their work

124) T. 476.

125) Yen Ts'ung-chien, *op. cit.,* 12/11b.

126) Ch'i Yün-shih 祁韻士, *Huang Ming fan-pu yao-lüeh* 皇明藩部要略 ch. 115 (順治四年).

127) S. Wada, *op.cit.,* pp. 855–865.

128) T. 528.

129) Yen Ts'ung-chien, *ibid*.

130) Ma Wen-sheng, *op. cit.,* 7b; Mao Jui-cheng, *op. cit.,* 6/9b; P. Pelliot, *op. cit.,* p. 132 n. 99.

131) T. 568.

132) S. Wada, *op. cit.,* pp. 855–858.

133) W. Radloll, *Kuanši-im Pusar*, Beilage I, Petersburg 1911, S. 69–90; G. Kara-P. Zieme, *Fragmente tantrische Werke in uigurischer Übersetzung*, BT VII, Berlin 1976, S. 14 (34); J. Oda, "Uiguru-bun monjushiri-jōju-hō no danpen ichiyō," *Tōyōshi Kenkyū* XXXIII, 1, pp. 86–109.

134) M. Shōgaito, "Uigurugo shahon, Daiei hakubutsukan Or. 8212-109 ni tsuite," *Tōyō Gakuhō,* LVI, 1, p. 04; G. Kara, *op. cit.,* S. 15.

135) G. Kara, *op. cit.,* S. 13–14, 46, 66.

contributed to the expansion of the Tibetan Lamaism in Hami and Turfan. But, in spite of translations of the Tibetan texts, most Buddhistic terms were not of Tibetan origin, but came from Uighurian traditions, as G. Kara remarks. [136] It is doubtful whether Uighur Buddhists really came under Tibetan influence before the Yüan period. According to a few brief biographies of the Yüan annals, Uighurs, for instance, Chia-lu-na-ta-ssu 迦魯納答思 (Karunadaz < Skt. Karuṇā-dāsa; died in 1312) and Pi-lan-na-shih-li 必蘭納識理 (< Skt. Prajñāśrī; from Hami, died in 1332), were first acquainted with Indian Buddhism (天竺教) or Indian books (西天書).[137] By the end of the 10th century, an institution for Buddhist translations (譯經院) was established by Indian missions to China. [138] The restoration of Tibetan Buddhism began to rise under new Indian influences. And then Indian Buddhists seem to have been in search of missionary work to the east, as a result of the unavoidable expansion of Islam. They ought to have brought Sanskrit (Brāhmī) writings to Uighuristan. Uighur teachers took part in introducing Tibetan Lamaism to the Yüan court, because they easily understood Tibetan texts, with their knowledge of Sanskrit. For this reason, names of Sanskrit origin are found among princes in the Yüan household, as well as among Uighur Buddhists. Particularly in the post-Yüan period, we see names ending with '-shiri' (Skt. śrī, Tib. dpal, Ch. 吉祥 : transcript. 失里, 失力 etc.) among Hami princes and their family, for example, Unashiri (Skt. Guṇaśrī),[139] Sukashiri (Skt. Sukhaśrī, grandmother of Toghto), Budashiri (Skt. Buddhaśrī), Dawadashiri (Skt. Devatāśrī? or Devada[tta]śrī??). Early in the 15th century some Buddhist communities still remained in the Turfan district and the Hami oasis. Most inhabitants in Turfan (town) were Buddhists, and there were priests and temples. The Ming invested Uighur priests with several ranks of Chinese monks, and sometimes honored higher ones with the title of kuo-shih 國師 (the most reverend).[140] In 1408, when a priest named Ch'ing-lai 清 來 and his disciples, Fa-ch'üan 法 泉 (Fa-hsien 法 先) etc., came with their tributes, the Ming court conferred the title of kuo-shih on Ch'ing-lai, and gave the ranks of tu-kang 都綱 (the chief officiant) etc. [141] on the others. Fa-ch'üan was succeeded by his son, Fu-hsien 佛先 in 1430, who afterwards took refuge in China with followers (1437).[142] Another priest, Kumarashiri 古麻剌失里 (Skt.

136) G. Kara, *op. cit.,* S. 13.

137) *Yüan-shih*, ch. 134, 202; P. Zieme, *Zur buddhistischen Stabreimdichtung der alten Uiguren*, *Acta Orient. Hung.* vol. 29, no. 2, 1975, S. 198–199, Anm. 54; J. Oda, TK, vol. 33, no. 1, *op. cit.,* pp. 98–99.

138) *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten* 望月佛教大辭典, vol. 8, Tokyo 1958, pp. 256–268.

139) Variants: Ku-na-shih-li 古納失里 (洪武刻本華夷譯語), Hu-na-shih-li 忽納失里 (T. 34), P. Pelliot, *op. cit.,* pp. 135–136 n. 103; no. 60.

140) *Ming-shih*, ch. 74, 75.

141) T. 59.

142) T. 165, 231.

Kumāraśrī) came to the Ming court in 1408.[143] The next year he sent Nandashiri 南答失里 (Skt. Nandaśrī) as an envoy, then he received three suits of clerical robes (1411).[144] The Ming court gave some presents to a priest, Shan-shih 善實 (1427),[145] and allowed San-kuo Ta-shih 桑果大師 to open a missionary institution (僧綱司) in 1426.[146] Paramartashiri 巴剌麻兒答失里 (Skt. Paramārthaśrī) [147] visited the Ming as many as two times with tributes, and requested the title of kuo-shih (1426, 1429). Afterwards he sent a priest, Ko-ai 格來 in 1437.[148] The Ming court sent him an envoy (1441).[149] All these accounts are related to Turfan. Qarakhojo was no more than ruins of what it had been. The Buddhist center was undoubtedly at Turfan, though it remains inexplicable how so many Buddhists were in Lükchüng. Turfan had fallen thoroughly into the hands of the Islamic Moghuls before the mid-15th century. It is estimated that all that district began to be called Turfan after that time, as the center of Moghulian powers were put in Turfan. Probably many native Uighurs joined the new community. But some of them took refuge in China, and still others may have sought new dwellings in the Hami oasis.

In 1409, the missionary institution was set up in Hami. [150] A priest, Su-tu-la-shih 速都剌失 was conferred the rank of tu-kang, at the request of Mengli Temür's envoy (1411).[151] Another priest, T'ai-ts'ang 太倉 was granted the same rank (1429).[152] Some Hami princes had Buddhist names, as mentioned above. Dawadashiri had another name with Khalīl Sulṭān (哈力鎖魯檀),[153] which presumably suggests a joint community with Muslims. He sent an envoy to the Ming court, and said he was going to build a Buddhist temple out of gratitude for his parents love (1442).[154] Two Uighur priests, Abidarmashiri 阿必答兒麻失里 (Skt. Abhidharmaśrī) and Biradiyashiri 皮剌的牙失力 (Skt. Hṛdayaśrī?),[155] requested the title of kuo-shih from the Ming. The latter was granted the rank of tu-kang (1463).[156] This priest

143) T. 60.
144) T. 71.
145) T.142.
146) T.157.
147) T. 264, variants: 巴剌馬答失里 (T. 132), 把剌馬剌失里 (T. 159, 160), 把剌麻答失 (T. 234).
148) T. 234.
149) T. 264.
150) T. 65.
151) T. 75.
152) T. 157.
153) T. 246.
154) T. 268.
155) Variants: 必剌牙失里 (T. 406), 必剌牙失里把的剌 (Skt.-bhadra, T. 440).
156) T. 438.

implored the Ming court lo give help to 200 inhabitants who took refuge in Kan-chou from Hami (1473).[157] A chief officiant Yüeh-chia 約家 came with a tribute, as the envoy of Han-shen (1481).[158] There was a priest with the title of kuo-shih among the Su-chou Uighurs mentioned above. [159] It can be concluded that princes and the Hami Uighurs were believers in Buddhism, probably except for the last prince, Sulṭān Bāyazīd. When Hami was annexed to the dominions of the Islamic Moghuls, the Buddhist Uighurs as well as the Islamic ones, joined new communities. Some of them took refuge in China.

Epilogue

In 1513, when Manṣūr khan annexed Hami, the people in Uighuristan lost, logically speaking, their old race-name of Uighur, with which they had been identified since the 9th century. They seem to have merged more and more into the Muslim society there. But the people, who kept the lingual and national characteristics of their own, adopted their racial name as the name of their nationality in modern times again. On the other hand, the Moghuls went on rapidly declining in power and in number with the introduction of Islam. [60] The people, having ceased the nomadic life, must have gradually adapted themselves to the Muslim Uighurs.

Although it goes without saying that Uighuristan was an important transit area on the main "tribute trade" route from Central Asia to China, we need to be concerned about the particular circumstance. Hami was much indebted to Emperor Yung-lo's foreign policy. The emperor undertook a project to import military horses and to set up some safeguards for the highest priority of his own Mongolian campaigns. No doubt it was part of this policy that he established friendly relations with Hami in the west and with Uliyankhai in the east. Thanks to his policy, people of Hami appear to have been successful in selling large quantities of horses. [161] It is reported that Quilich, Tatar khaghan, often held horse fairs at Hami [162] and, that people who were going to China usually bought horses there. [163] Emperor Hung-hsi 洪熙, the successor of Yung-lo, declared, on the occasion of his accession to the throne, that he would cease to import horses from Hami and other western countries. [164] This shows that Hami played an important role in the horse trade in the Yung-lo

157) T. 440.
158) T. 473.
159) Yen Ts'ung-chien, *op.cit.,* 12/11b.
160) N. Elias, TR. Introduction, p. 78.
161) T. 32.
162) T. 50.
163) Ch'en Ch'eng, *op. cit.,* 20b.
164) T. 107

era. It is not reasonable to conclude that the trade business of Hami declined rapidly thereafter, though some changes might have taken place. It probably continued to flourish as a commercial center for a while.

Meanwhile, Toghon, the chieftain of the Oirats, having had a marital relation with the Hami prince, must have secured command of the trade route over Hami. For this reason he, rapidly and solidly, won the military supremacy over the nomadic powers of Mongolia. But, as a result, Hami got excluded from the main trade route, as Esen, the successor of Toghon, sent caravans on a large scale to Ta-t'ung 大同 in northern China, directly by way of the steppe route. Furthermore, in the second half of the 15th century, struggles between Uighurs and Moghuls seem to have reduced the commercial activities in Uighuristan. Even Muslim merchants tended to take refuge in China. [165] According to the Khitayname (Ali Ekber, Istanbul 1516)—I think that it includes historical sources on the later days of the 15th century—30,000 Muslims were living at Kinjān Fu (now, Hsi-an).[166] At that time this city had a central administrative office that presided over the tribute and trade affairs of the western countries, of which the embassies reached Peking, the capital city, by way of Chia-yu Kuan. All members of the embassies usually stayed at Kan-chou, and some of them were allowed to go to the capital. [167] In the period of Emperor Wu-tsung, members of embassies, consisting of Muslim merchants, stayed at the official lodging house for embassies for three or four years and were engaged in their private business. But, they were denied their positions and banished from the land as soon as Emperor Chia-ching ascended the throne in 1521.[168] This emperor attempted to change the liberal diplomatic policy, which had been adopted toward embassies of the western countries since Yung-lo. The invasion of Manṣūr may have been the greatest reason of this change of policy. The truth may be that Sayyid Ḥusayn and his family were political victims. As the result of their executions, the Ming court could cut off the cooperation between the Muslim communities in China and the Muslim merchants from the western countries. In the re-established system of tribute and trade, the Ming court began to receive the embassies again. At regular intervals they came

165) K, Tasaka gives a full account of examples from Ming sources in his work *Chūgoku ni okeru kaikyō no denrai to sono gutsū* (II), Tokyo, 1964, pp. 1056–1062, 1095–1105.

166) Lin Yih-min, *op.cit.,* s. 43; J. Oda, "Jūroku sēki shotō no Chūgoku ni kansuru Isuramu shiryō," *Shirin*, LII, 6, p. 97.

167) Lin Yih-min, *op. cit.,* s. 53, 60 n. 38.

168) T. 640.

from western countries, even from remote parts, for example, Rumi 魯迷 (dominions of the Ottoman empire) and the district of Ka'aba (天方國，Mecca), by way of Turfan, the main and last gathering place of caravans. [169)]

169) Bretschneider, *op. cit.,* II, pp. 306–308; H. Wada, "Mindai no teppō denrai to Osuman teikoku," *Shigaku*, XXXI, 4, pp. 692–719; A. Haneda, "Minteikoku to Osuman teikoku," *Seinan Ajia Kenkyū*, 14, pp. 95–100.

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